The cessation of the menses during pregnancy is interpreted discerningly, that is, that the baby is fed by the discharge and rejects the waste products from it at birth (placenta).

When a woman cannot have a child, her husband goes to find a marabout who sells him an amulet which the woman must wear next to her skin. The wife, for her part, goes to pray near old tombs known to be those of venerated people. She asks God's pardon for her faults and asks death to intercede for her with the creator. If the woman conceives, the husband takes the marabout an offering which sometimes consists of as much as several head of livestock.

After confinement the wife has no sexual relations with her husband for a month and ten days. On the fortieth day the husband makes his wife a present of sandals and new clothing.

Nursing lasts on the average from two to two and one-half years. Boys, however, are weaned six months later than girls, for they are more fragile, it seems, and need stronger food.

In camp the young child is placed on a cushion, lying on his stomach, and kept in place by a cloth band which passes over his loins and ties under the cushion. His wrists are also sometimes attached. Sometimes a wooden frame made of arches is placed over him; it holds up cloths and protects him from flies, light, and sandstorms, all at the same time. The Ioullimmiden Tuareg use little cradles which are hooked to the arches of the tent.

At moving time the mother carries her child on her back or on her hip, held by a loincloth knotted over the breasts. This method, also used by the Sudanese, does not seem to disturb the child, in spite of the /286/ mother's movements, which are sometimes quite sudden. If he cries, she nurses him until all the milk is gone; there is no question of hours or measure for feedings.

The long nursing period as well as the carrying system causes the woman's breasts to sag rapidly after the first child. For the Tuareg, however, aesthetics count less than motherhood, which ennobles the woman.

1777 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
1785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
1795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

1774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
1776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[1955] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The
1768 women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
1787 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news of those who are absent.

1778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
1782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
1773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
1778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
1782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants?

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent.

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves.

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

173 634 drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenokal, the elder son of Sabenas.

Mohammed Aman, the younger brother of Amenokal.

Elkarebi, the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

Boboker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

Rali, who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Rali's tomb is 1769 south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Rali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to partic- [1782] ipate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the [177] deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

Mohammed, who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while 175 his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. 634 Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Rali.

Ouanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanou, who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

Koutia, who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Rali's younger brother.

Agg Elkher, of pure noble origin being the son of Rali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

Azerkor, who was the son of Rali.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

173 634 *Sabenas*, the ancestress of the noble *Kel Ferwan* and the first ruler of the drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenukal, the eldest son of *Sabenas*.

Mokhammed Aman, the younger brother of *Amenukal*.

Elkarebi, the younger brother of *Mokhammed Aman*.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:—

Bubeker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe.

Rali, who was the younger brother of *Bubeker*. He was the reigning drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years. He was considered a very skilful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group with profound respect. *Rali*'s tomb is south of the Massif, somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On *Rali*'s death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. Ancestral worship of this type is most probably not a traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. It should be noted in this context that *Rali* was considered a member of the *Echcherifen*, the descendants of the Prophet, through relationship to the *Imenan* (cf. p. 393 ff.).

173 634 *Mokhammed*, who belonged to the noble *Kel Ferwan* through his mother, while his father came from the *Ifoyas*. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was not a close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief *Rali*.

Wanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the *Kel Ferwan*. His father belonged to the religious, and, in Tuareg opinion, very holy tribe of *Kel es Suk*. He was very strict with the vassals of his drum-group, and he would never take his food in their company, though other drum-chiefs seem to have been less severe. It is probably for this very reason that he was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanu, who belonged to the *Echchikhen*. He died after one year's reign.

Kutlya, who was of noble *Kel Ferwan* stock, being the son of *Rali*'s younger brother.

Agg-Elkhir, of pure noble origin being the son of *Rali*'s daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected.

Azeŗor, who was the son of *Rali*.

634 *Agg-Elkhir*, in his second period of reign. He was the reigning drum-chief during my stay in Ayr 1955. He was then very old, and the French considered his son *Khejji* the actual representative of the drum-group.

Bukha, who is the newly-elected drum-chief. He is the son of *Azeŗor* and the grand-son of the renowned chief *Rali*, who was the mother's brother of the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir*. Consequently *Bukha* is a classificatory sister's son of *Agg-Elkhir* (cf. p. 451, Fig. 294). Before the election took place very many Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group had wanted the deceased chief *Agg-Elkhir* to be succeeded by his son *Khejji*. On the day of election, when all adult men of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group came